Portuguese Population in France:

a snapshot 25 years after their arrival [§]

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Abstract

In year 2000 Portugal is celebrating the 500th anniversary of the arrival to Brazil. The Portuguese overseas adventure is now five centuries old and more than one third of the Portuguese nationals are living outside their homeland; in France they are the largest foreign community.

This paper uses the data from the French Employment Survey (Enquête de l' Emploi) 1994 and 1995 to characterise the Portuguese population and to study individual decisions taken by the Portuguese migrants concerning naturalisation, family, residence and education.

As a result of the analysis it seems that the decisions of the younger Portuguese are getting closer to the decisions of their French neighbours, increasing the gap with respect to the decisions of their countrymen who stayed in Portugal. In this very sense, we can say that some assimilation by the Portuguese is occurring in France. There is an educational convergence of the Portuguese migrants in France and the French.

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I. Introduction

In year 2000 Portugal is celebrating 500 years of the arrival to Brazil. The Portuguese overseas adventure is now five centuries old and the time has arrived to know more about the Portuguese Diaspora. This paper is a contribution to that knowledge as the Portuguese community in France is studied.

After a century long period of migration to overseas colonies and ex-colonies, a new phenomenon appears in the Portuguese recent history: the migration to European countries. In 1950-54 around 2% of the more than 184,000 migrants, chose Europe as destination; ten years later, in 1960-1964, more than 50% chose this destination; twenty years later, in 1970-1974, more than 83% of the 667,000 emigrants were heading to Europe and more than 62% had France as destination. As a result Portugal is a country which has one third of its nationals living abroad and which holds the largest foreign nationality living in France.

The paper starts with a brief historical note where the main facts of the Portuguese emigration are pointed. Follows, in part III, the characterisation of the samples used. In part IV some decisions taken by the migrants are studied and compared to the same type of decisions taken by the French and by the Portuguese who stayed in Portugal. We end with some conclusions and topics for further research. The paper includes also an extended bibliography on the topic.

II. Historical background

Accordingly to official estimates more than 4.5 million Portuguese were living abroad in 95/96[1]. This number assumes an even bigger importance if compared with the Portuguese population. There are several different estimates for the Portuguese population in those two years. Nonetheless, it can be said that it must lie between 9.8 and 9.9 million[2]. Therefore, one out of three Portuguese lives abroad.

The American continent was the destination chosen by more than half of the Portuguese emigrants, being Brazil the main destination. In Europe, the destination of almost 30% of the Portuguese emigrants, France is the country with the largest Portuguese community. In fact, it is the second larger Portuguese community, accounting for approximately 17% of the total Portuguese living abroad, and was the first foreign community in France in 1990 (18% of the 3.6 million immigrants residing in that country) with 649714 individuals[3].

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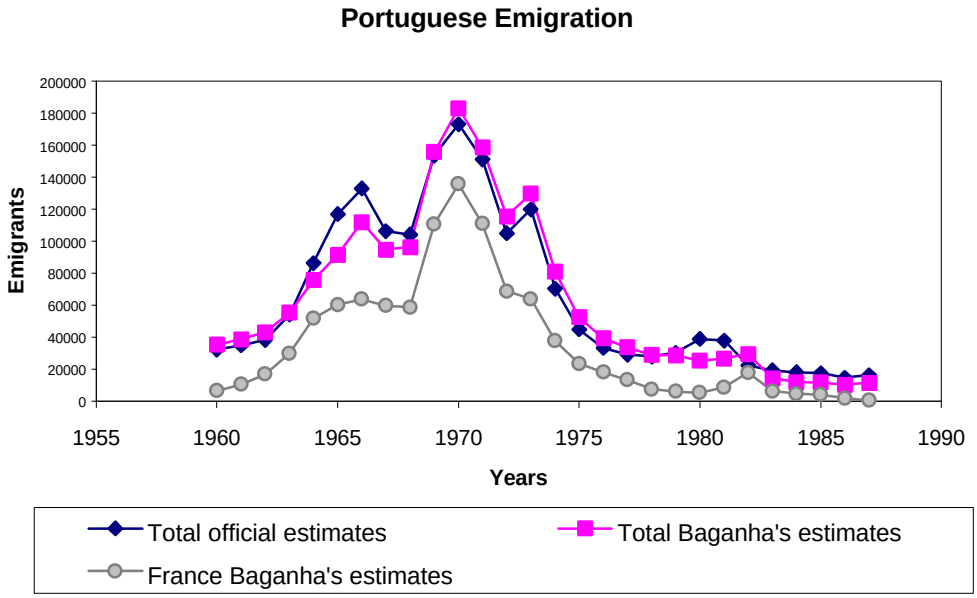
[1] More precisely, 4,638,998 - Direcção Geral dos Assuntos Consulares e Comunidades Portuguesas (Portuguese Foreign Affairs Ministry).

[2] 9,921 thousand in 1995 and 9,935 thousand , in OCDE "Main Economic Indicators", Dec 1996 and Dec 1997;
The midyear estimates of IMF are 9,920 thousand in 1995 and 9,810 thousand in 1996, in "International Financial Statistics Yearbook", 1998;
9,807 thousand in 1995 and 9,831 thousand in 1996 in Eurostat "Eurostatistics", 1998.

[3] From the 1990 French Census, I.N.S.E.E., Branco (1998), Kotlok-Piot (1994) and Labat (1992).

The dimension of the actual Portuguese community in France is due to the massive emigration that took place in Portugal between the sixties and mid seventies[4]. Once more the exact figures are not known, for in that period a substantial part of departures were clandestine[5]. This was particularly true for early seventies when clandestine emigration exceeded legal emigration. That can be inferred comparing the legal departures' number for 1970, 66,360, with some figures put forward by some authors. According to Kotlok-Piot (1994), France alone received almost 90,000 Portuguese in 1970. Lebon (1989) goes even further presenting a figure beyond 135,000. The SECP (Portuguese communities' Secretary of State) gives an estimate of 173,268 for total migration, consisting in legal emigration plus illegal emigration to France[6]. Baganha (1994) presents a higher estimate for total Portuguese migration in 1970, 183,205 migrants, including all the illegal emigrants.



[4] 92% of the Portuguese immigrants in France in 1990 were already living there in 1982, Labat (1992), and among the 767304 Portuguese immigrants living in France in 1982 only 74640 did not live there already in 1975, Branco (1998).
[5] Clandestine in the sense that the Portuguese were not allowed to migrate freely. They had to ask for permission to leave Portugal. If granted they were considered legal emigrants; otherwise they were illegal or clandestine emigrants.
[6] French authorities gave the figures relative to illegal Portuguese immigrants in France.

Total Portuguese Emigration, 1960-1988

Years	Official estimates	Estimates (Baganha)	Estimates for France (Baganha)
1960	32273	35159	6434
1961	34796	38572	10492
1962	38210	43002	16798
1963	53970	55218	29843
1964	86282	75576	51668
1965	116974	91488	60267
1966	132834	111995	63611
1967	106280	94712	59597
1968	104131	96227	58741
1969	153536	155672	110614
1970	**173267**	**183205**	**135667**
1971	151197	158473	110820
1972	104976	115545	68692
1973	120019	129732	63942
1974	70273	80859	37727
1975	44918	52486	23436
1976	33246	39192	17919
1977	28989	33676	13265
1978	27914	28858	7406
1979	30136	28726	5987
1980	38917	25173	5200
1981	37868	26607	8600
1982	22459	29505	17900
1983	19201	14208	6300
1984	17935	11863	4600
1985	17340	11551	4000
1986	14568	10204	1800
1987	16228	11415	400
1988	18302	13332	600

The official estimates refer to total emigration, that is, legal emigration and clandestine emigration to France (based in the French statistics) until 1985. After 1986 the figures correspond to legal emigration. Between 1960 and 1977 only the permanent emigration (consisting on the individuals who intend to stay out of the home country for more than a year) is accounted for. Since 1978, the total is composed by both permanent and temporary emigration (consisting on the individuals who intend to stay out of the home country for one year or less).

Source: JE, SNE, SEE, SEECP and SECP annual bulletins.

After the 1970's maximum (see graph above), emigration declined continuously until the beginning of the eighties. But it was only after the oil crises in 1973, in 1974/75, that emigration returned to values close to the ones registered in 1962. The recession and the rising unemployment led the main destination countries to adopt immigration policies increasingly restrictive. During that period the labour migration to France was substituted by family reunion (Baganha, 1998).

Taking in consideration that, since 1980, annual emigration to France is far from reaching 10.000 individuals[7]– except in 1982 due to a regularisation process occurred in 1981 and 1982 –, that some migrants returned to Portugal and some others adopted the French nationality, it is

[7] This figure concerns only permanent migration, as it is this kind of migration we are interested in. However, it is known that since mid eighties temporary migration became increasingly important. That much can be corroborated by some data presented by Lebon (1989). Accordingly to that data, the Portuguese seasonal immigrants' number grew from 10,066 in 1980 to 14,020 in 1988.

reasonable to assume that the present Portuguese community in France is formed by the emigrants of the "Portuguese migration golden period" (1965-1974) and their descendants.

II. Characterisation of the samples

From the Enquête de l' Emploi 1994, 1995 we selected all individuals who were Portuguese or were born in Portugal. We got a sample of 2033 and 1958 individuals in 1994 and 1995 respectively. This way we will study not only the Portuguese who maintained their nationality but also the ones who decided to get the French nationality.

Because we included the Portuguese as well as all individuals who were born in Portugal regardless of their nationality the samples have the following composition:

Nationality	1994	1995
Portuguese	80.82%	79.72%
French born in Portugal	4.53%	2.86%
Naturalised French born in Portugal	11.76%	13.26%
Other	2.89%	4.16%
Portuguese or born in Portugal	100%	100%

From the above table we see that most of the individuals of our sample are Portuguese. Later in this work we study the decision to become a French citizen.

Unfortunately we do not know the country of birth of all individuals. Therefore we are not able to trace neither all the Portuguese who naturalised French nor the origin of all Portuguese. In regard to the latter problem we can say though that approximately 98% of the Portuguese, for whom the country of birth is known, were in fact born in Portugal (97.6% in 1994 and 98.1% in 1995), as expected.

The majority of the individuals are males as we can see below.

Sample composition by gender

	1994	*in %*	1995	*in %*
Males	1070	*52,63*	1012	*51,69*
Females	963	*47,37*	946	*48,31*
Total	2033	*100*	1958	*100*

The above percentages are very similar to the one obtained for the Portuguese population in France in the 1990 census: 53.5% of males.

Notice that this percentage is much lower than the percentage for other migrants' populations: 58.6% for Argelians; 56.2 for Moroccans; and 57% for Italians (Kotlok-Piot, 1994), for the Portuguese migration is a family migration where there is not a disproportionate number of males (generally single).

The age composition of the samples is the following

Age composition

age	1994	*in %*	1995	*in %*
15-20	155	7,62%	116	5,92%
21-25	165	8,12%	128	6,54%
26-30	230	11,31%	254	12,97%
31-35	240	11,81%	251	12,82%
36-40	252	12,40%	237	12,10%
41-45	259	12,74%	242	12,36%
46-50	281	13,82%	256	13,07%
51-55	171	8,41%	205	10,47%
56-60	137	6,74%	121	6,18%
+60	143	7,03%	148	7,56%
Sum	2033	100%	1958	100%
Average	40.1		40.9	

The most striking aspect of the table above is that more than 50% of the individuals in both samples are younger than 40 years old. We have then a very young population (younger than other populations of migrants), although it seems to be getting older. This can be explained by the fact that the Portuguese migration to France is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Analysing the table below we see that there is a majority of females in the 36-45-age bracket, in 1994, and a much smaller percentage after this age. In the 1995 sample women concentrate more in the youngest and oldest age brackets. It is worth noticing that the 21-25 age bracket is one of the age groups where there are fewer females

Age distribution by gender

	1994				1995			
Age	Males	*in %*	Females	*in %*	Males	*in %*	Females	*in %*
15-20	81	52,26	74	47,74	57	49,14	59	50,86
21-25	94	56,97	71	43,03	68	53,13	60	46,88
26-30	125	54,35	105	45,65	129	50,79	125	49,21
31-35	122	50,83	118	49,17	128	51,00	123	49,00
36-40	125	49,60	127	50,40	121	51,05	116	48,95
41-45	124	47,88	135	52,12	126	52,07	116	47,93
46-50	157	55,87	124	44,13	132	51,56	124	48,44
51-60	168	54,55	140	45,45	180	55,21	146	44,79
+60	74	51,75	69	48,25	71	47,97	77	52,03
Sum	1070	52,63	963	47,37	1012	51,69	946	48,31

It would be interesting to know when did these migrants arrive in France. Unfortunately only a small percentage answered the question about the year they entered France (35.6% in 1994 and 35.5% in 1995).

Looking at the sub-samples of those that recall their arrival date and comparing its composition with the whole samples we see that there is not a clear bias. If in the 1994 sub-sample the percentage of men who know the year they entered France (relative to whole men's group) is higher than the mean– meaning that more men recall their arrival date comparatively to women – the reverse happens in the 1995 sub-sample.

Age distribution by gender of the 1994 sub-sample of the individuals who recall their arrival date

Age	Total	*% of the sample's age bracket* [a)]	Men	*% of the sample's age bracket* [a)]	Women	*% of the sample's age bracket* [a)]
15-20	45	*29,03%*	22	*27,16%*	23	*31,08%*
21-25	78	*47,27%*	49	*52,13%*	29	*40,85%*
26-30	94	*40,87%*	58	*46,40%*	36	*34,29%*
31-35	84	*35,00%*	47	*38,52%*	37	*31,36%*
36-40	90	*35,71%*	48	*38,40%*	42	*33,07%*
41-45	78	*30,12%*	41	*33,06%*	37	*27,41%*
46-50	83	*29,54%*	43	*27,39%*	40	*32,26%*
51-55	65	*38,01%*	35	*38,04%*	30	*37,97%*
56-60	55	*40,15%*	30	*39,47%*	25	*40,98%*
+60	51	*35,66%*	24	*32,43%*	27	*39,13%*
Sum	723	*35,56%*	397	*37,10%*	326	*33,85%*

Age distribution by gender of the 1995 sub-sample of the individuals who recall their arrival date

Age	Total	*% of the sample's age bracket* [a)]	Men	*% of the sample's age bracket* [a)]	Women	*% of the sample's age bracket* [a)]
15-20	35	*30,17%*	12	*21,05%*	23	*38,98%*
21-25	61	*47,66%*	30	*44,12%*	31	*51,67%*
26-30	108	*42,52%*	56	*43,41%*	52	*41,60%*
31-35	110	*43,82%*	58	*45,31%*	52	*42,28%*
36-40	70	*29,54%*	36	*29,75%*	34	*29,31%*
41-45	73	*30,17%*	38	*30,16%*	35	*30,17%*
46-50	74	*28,91%*	39	*29,55%*	35	*28,23%*
51-55	76	*37,07%*	37	*34,58%*	39	*39,80%*
56-60	40	*33,06%*	25	*34,25%*	15	*31,25%*
+60	48	*32,43%*	20	*28,17%*	28	*36,36%*
Sum	695	*35,50%*	351	*34,68%*	344	*36,36%*

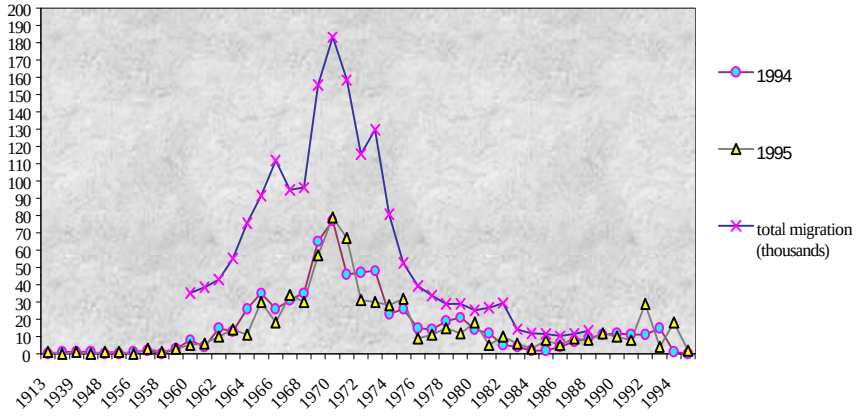
a) $$\frac{\text{number that recall in age bracket i}}{\text{total in age bracket i}} \times 100$$

In terms of age groups we can see that the intermediate ones show the lowest percentages, as well as the youngest group. It is within the 21-30 age bracket, for 1994 or 21-35 for 1995, that more individuals recall their arrival date. Consequently, the sub-samples' population is slightly

younger than the whole samples' population (the age average for the sub-samples is 39 years old whereas for the samples is 40.1 and 40.9 for 1994 and 1995 respectively).

As it was said earlier, the huge dimension of the actual Portuguese community in France is due to the massive emigration that took place in Portugal between the sixties and mid seventies. So it is not very surprising to find that the distribution of the sub-samples' over the arrival years is very similar to the distribution of the total Portuguese emigration (see graph below).

Departure and arrival dates



Note: the values used for total migration were the estimates put forward by Baganha.

The majority of the individuals arrived before 1971, being 1970 the year that shows the higher number of observations, as for total Portuguese migration to France.

Even if it is impossible to consider the sub-sample as representative of the sample, it is interesting in itself to use the sub-sample to study the age at migration.

Individuals that are over 50 were older than 16 when they arrived in France, and the large majority was even older than 20 years old; drawing on the poor educational attainment of the Portuguese population, we can say that they migrated as workers. On the other hand the majority of people younger than 30 arrived when they were younger than 10 years old and approximately two thirds of the people younger than 40 were younger than 16 years when they arrived in France (see tables 1 and 2 in appendix A).

If we assume that individuals younger than 17 would not have started working, then the majority of emigrants who were younger than 40 at the time of the surveys were not workers when they migrated; they were part of family migration.

Therefore we can trace three distinct groups:

1) People who are younger than 40 – migrated when they were young and in a large number of cases before the end of compulsory education.

2) People who are older than 50 – migrated as adults.

3) People who are between 40 and 50 – migrate as young adults, aged 17 to 30.

This is in accordance with the fact that the main Portuguese migration flow to France occurred 20 to 30 years ago (that is, between 1965 and 1974). In 1994 and 1995 people would then be 20 to 30 years older than what they were when they migrated.

On the other hand, in Portuguese migration the time gap between husband and wife's arrival was generally shorter than 3 years. That is the reason why the family flow became close to the one of workers already at end of the sixties (Kotlok-Piot, 1994).

Considering the individuals who migrated younger than 16 as being part of a second generation of migrants - for the decision to migrate must have been taken by their parents - we see that 38% and 39% in 1994 and 1995 sub-samples are second generation migrants.

The proportion of second generation migrants for the whole sample should be around one third. We obtained this number assuming that everyone who entered France having less than 17 years old was younger than 41[8] at the time of the surveys. The group of individuals younger than 41 accounts for half of each sample and among them, every two in three individuals, entered France when they were younger than 17 years old (66%).

III. Study of some decisions taken by the migrants: naturalisation, residence, education and family.

Naturalisation

The percentage of individuals of our samples who naturalised French was 11.76% and 13.28% in 1994 and 1995 respectively. The majority of individuals have remained Portuguese (see table 3 in appendix A).

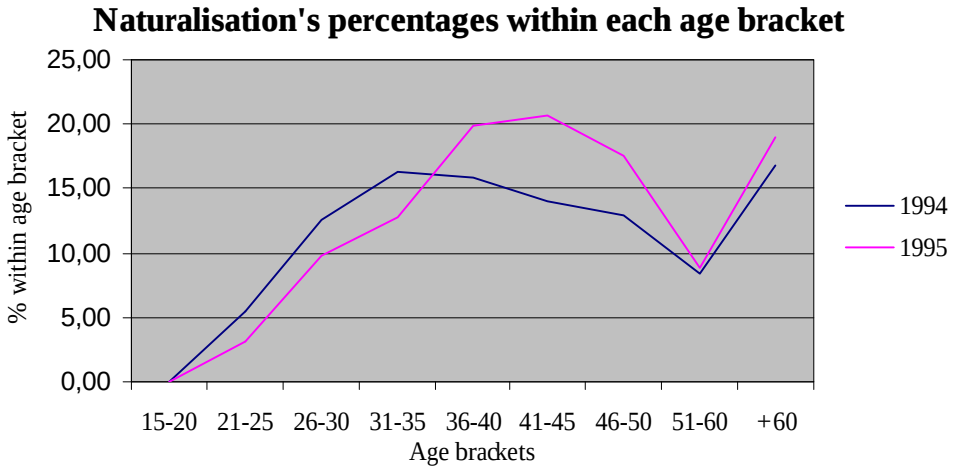
Tribalat (1995) also points the low number of naturalisations, even if she presents a higher percentage, 17.5%. This author shows that only 7% of the males and 5% of the females who arrived in France before 1974 took the French nationality, something that can, in part, explain the low level we observe. As mentioned earlier the large majority of the individuals in our samples must have entered France until 1974[9].

As, in general terms, the migrants who get naturalised are the ones who migrated single (Tribalat et al., 1991), the low level of naturalisations of the Portuguese can also be explained by the low level of migrants single (45%) when compared with the same percentage of other migrant populations (Tribalat et al. 1991).

[8] 94.57% of the individuals in the 1994 sub-sample that entered France younger than 17 is less than 41 years old, being 91.18% the percentage for the 1995 sub-sample.
[9] In the sub-samples, for which we know the arrival date, more than two thirds arrived in France before 1974.

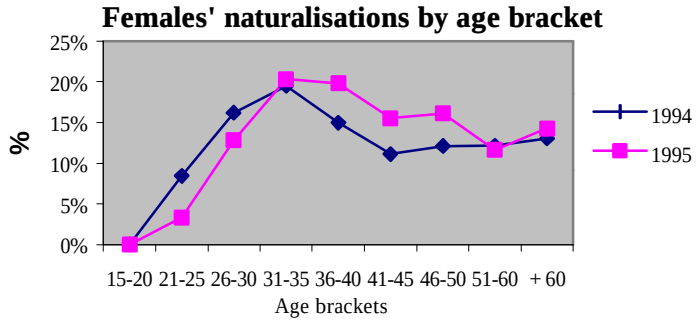
Although we cannot check this explanation, because we do not have any information about the marital status of the migrants at the time of their migration, it could be indeed one of the causes of the low level of naturalisations observed. As we already pointed out, family migration is very important in the Portuguese case. This theme will be presented below when we study the family decisions.

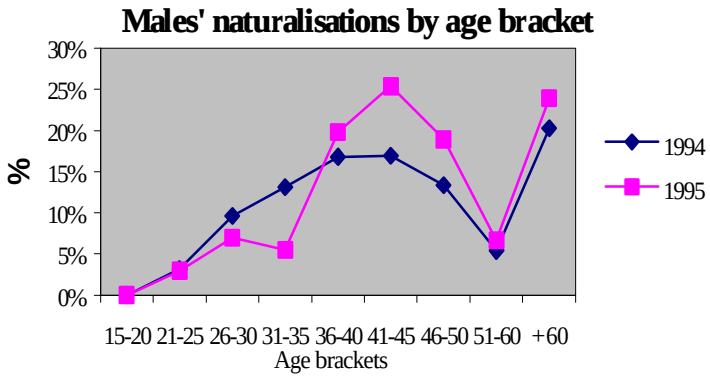
Analysing table 3 (in appendix A), we see that excluding the last age bracket, which shows a much higher percentage than the previous ones, the naturalisation percentage within each age bracket shows an inverse U shaped form with age.



If we make a distinction by age and sex (see table 4 in appendix A), we see that females show a slightly higher percentage of naturalisations. That could be due to the higher percentage of Portuguese women who adopt the nationality of their French husband, when compared to the percentage of Portuguese men who adopt the nationality of their French wife.

Women's naturalisation shows a maximum at a younger age (19% in 1994 and 20% in 1995 at 31-35) than men. A possible explanation is that women adopt their husband's nationality sooner than men adopt their wives' nationality. It is also true that men tend to marry later.





If we exclude the last age class we see that naturalisations increase among men until the age of 45 and among women until the age of 35. While the numbers decrease with age until the last class for men, for women there is an increase after the age of 45.

An explanation for the low number of younger males who naturalise (when compared to women) is that the military service is easier to avoid if they remain Portuguese (Tribalat, 1995).

Residence

As in the French census of 1990 there is a high concentration of individuals in our samples in the Ile-de-France region (38% in 1994 and 37% in 1995). No other region attracts so many Portuguese (see tables 5 and 6 in appendix A). The second region of attraction is Rhône-Alpes, and yet it represents only 10% of the Portuguese population in France. We find figures close to this one in our samples (9.2% in 1994 and 10.27% in 1995).

The fact that these two regions attract almost half of the individuals in our sample comes as no surprise as they are the more densely populated regions and the ones with the higher percentage of migrants. In Ile-de-France the concentration of migrants is twice the one of the French people. As for Rhône-Alpes, in 1990, 12% of the foreign population lived there, making it the second destination for migrants.

Kotlok-Piot (1994) explains the big concentration of Portuguese in the Paris region "by the higher level of wages when compared to other parts of the country, by the dimension and diversity of the labour market, by the constant need of no qualified workers, by the mobility among firms, by the possibility of working illegally and by the possibility of working overtime".

The attraction for Rhône-Alpes comes from the fact that this is an important industrial region where, in the seventies, there were large investments in public works, which attracted Portuguese to work in the construction sites.

If we look at the graph below we see that in regions like Champagne-Ardenne, Bourgogne, Franche-Compté, Picardie, Limousin and Auvergne there is a higher concentration of individuals in our sample than French (Eurostat 1993).

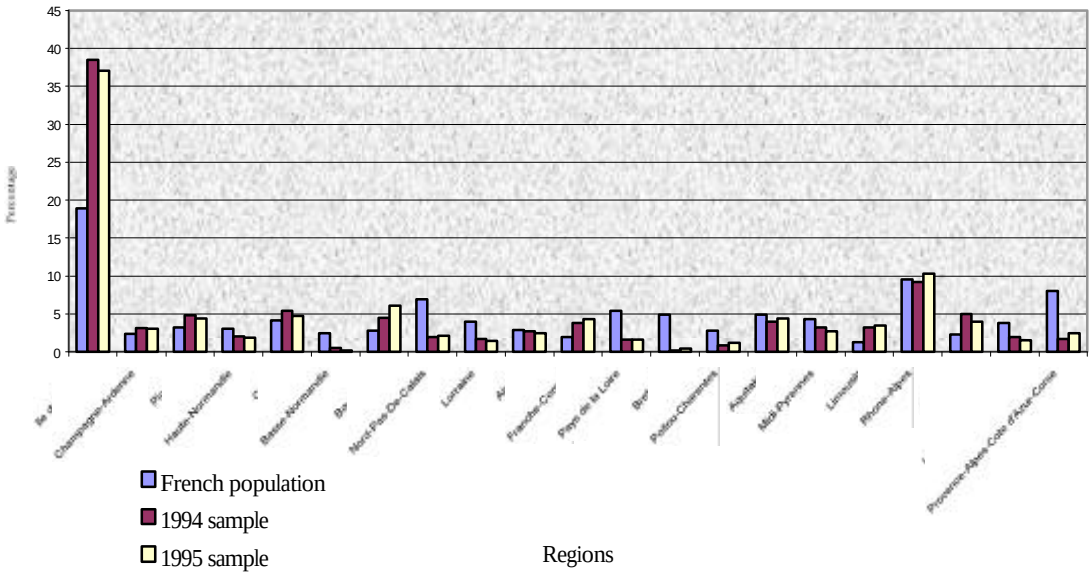
The same happens if we consider the foreign population as their concentration in the above mentioned regions is smaller than the concentration we find in the samples. This happens even with the Portuguese population in France (Census 1990), meaning that the Portuguese in our samples are more concentrated in these regions than the Portuguese population as a whole.

Looking at tables 5 and 6 we see that there is no significant variation in the geographical distribution (of the individuals in our sample) with age. The only way to note some differences is to compare broad groups within each sample. Therefore, we divided both samples in two groups: the group of the individuals who are younger than 41 and the one of those who are older than 40 years old.

If on one hand the younger individuals are slightly more concentrated in Ile-de-France, an urban region, it also true that they represent the majority in rural regions like Aquitaine e Franche-Compté (especially in the 1994 sample). On the other hand, the majority of people in Bourgogne, also a rural region is older than 40 years old.

The industrial region of Rhône-Alpes seems to be loosing importance near the younger individuals, the reverse happening in the Centre region.

Geographical distribution of the total French population (in 1993) and of the samples



Education

It is known that the Portuguese who migrated in the sixties and early seventies had a low formal education or none. In 1960, 40.3% of the Portuguese population had no formal education and of those who had some almost 90% had at most elementary school. Furthermore a large percentage of the migrants were from rural areas where schooling was below the national average; in these regions the illiteracy rate was approximately 45% and 95% of those who had studied had at most elementary school.[10]

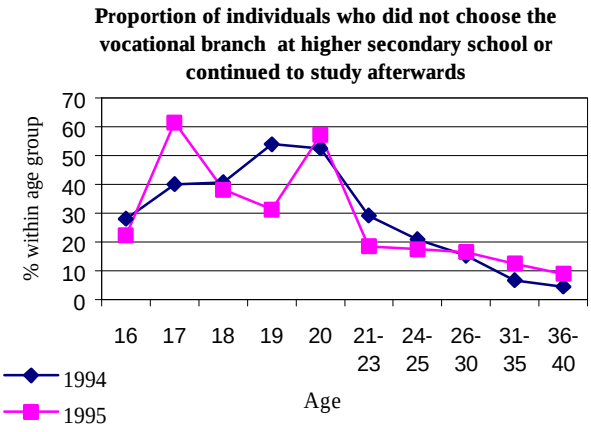
As the first generation migrants are in majority in both samples, a low educational level was expected. In fact, nearly half of the individuals in the samples has only primary education – 48.3% in 1994 and 47.75% in 1995 – and 8.56% and 7.41% in 1994 and 1995 respectively have no formal education (see tables 7 and 8 and graphs 1 and 2 in appendix A).

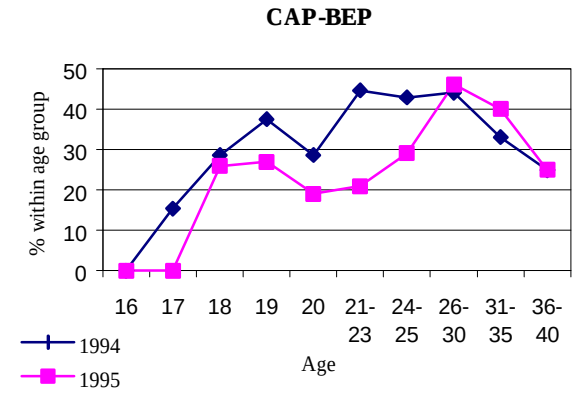
Nonetheless, a significant percentage of the individuals in the samples were in childhood or adolescence when migrated. Taking in consideration that some of them may have proceeded their studies in France, and that there has been an increasing trend in average education in Portugal, this group is expected to be more educated.

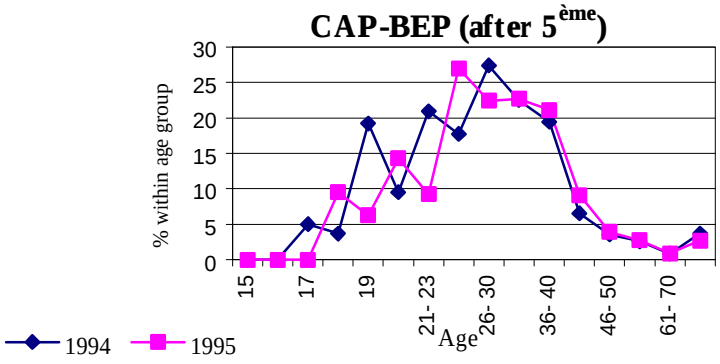
Looking at the educational levels attained by age group (see appendix B for a short description of the French educational system) we see that the individuals older than 35 are the ones to "blame" for the high percentage of elementary education. More than 75% of the individuals older than 40, and almost 50% of the ones in the 36-40 cohort, have at most primary education. This percentage reduces drastically for younger cohorts; in the 31-35 cohort it is about half the one of the next cohort, the 36-40 cohort.

Several works – Cunha (1989), Dubet (1989), Fernandes (1989), Silberman and Fournier (1998) - refer the preference of the Portuguese migrants' children for vocational training over an academic education. Our data support their statements. Approximately one third of the individuals aged 16 to 40,[11] in both samples, have a CAP-BEP certificate, whereas those who completed the "terminale"[12] represent only 5% in both samples (5.1% and 4.9%, respectively). However the preference for vocational training is declining, as the next two graphs show.

[10] All the percentages were calculated from the 1960 Portuguese Census.
[11] We do not consider individuals who are 15 as they are too young to have obtained this degree, neither individuals older than 40, because the percentage of this individuals who have the CAP-BEP is very low.
[12] We only consider individuals who are 18 or older as the others are too young to have obtained this degree.







The second graph includes all individuals who have a CAP-BEP certificate; there are two ways of obtaining it (see appendix B): after the 5ème and after 3ème. The individuals who want to obtain the CAP-BEP after the 3ème will have to study two more years, which implies that they will only get the certificate when they are 17 or 18 years old. That could be the reason for the low percentages of individuals with 16 and 17 having a CAP-BEP already. The declining percentages of those who choose the vocational training after the 5ème is evidence that, at least, the individuals are postponing their decision to get the CAP-BEP certificate.

However, as many young individuals are still in the 3ème, it can not be said for sure that they will, or will not, choose to get the CAP-BEP certificate. We can see though, that almost everyone, who reached the second cycle (higher secondary school) already, is in the general & technological branch, that is, chose an academic education.

It is clear, looking at the first graph on the previous page, that the proportion of individuals younger than 21 that chose an academic education is substantially higher than for older individuals; it is even above 50% for the individuals who are 20 years old. That could suggest an assimilation of the Portuguese migrants' children, as nearly 70% of the French students in the higher secondary school in 94/95 were in the general & technological branch (data from EURYBASE[13]).

The values reported by Tribalat (1995)[14], relative to the 25-29 age group are somewhat different from ours. In her sample one in two individuals has a CAP-BEP certificate[15], a higher percentage than the one we got for the same age group, which is about 45%. But the big difference is in the percentage of those who have a university degree or a BAC+2 degree. Even though this is the age group where we can find substantially more individuals with these qualifications, our percentages do not reach 10% (8.7% in 1994 and 7.5% in1995) whereas Tribalat's percentage is 17%.

For obvious reasons, the percentages of individuals who continued to study beyond secondary school for the whole samples are much lower than the one referred above, less than 4% for both samples. Those who have a university degree represent only 1.03% in 1994 and 0.66% in 1995.

Despite all the differences**,** the Portuguese migrants' children are becoming more French and less Portuguese in what education is concerned. On one hand, the preference for shorter cycles seems to be declining. On the other hand, there is a clear distinction between the education profile of the migrants and the Portuguese who remained in Portugal.

In general individuals younger than 40 years old, of which about two thirds are second generation migrants, are more educated than individuals of the same age in Portugal. That much can be seen comparing our samples with the Portuguese dataset "Quadros de Pessoal" (Personnel Records) for 1994, for ages between 18 and 40.

In our samples the majority of the individuals between 18 and 35 years old, within each age group, have at least the higher secondary school or the CAP-BEP after 5ème [16](see graphs 1 and 2 in appendix A). In "Quadros de Pessoal", and for the same age interval, more than 60%, again within each age group, has at most six years of education. For the 35-40 age group though the education profile of the migrants and the one of the Portuguese who remained in Portugal is more alike regarding the years of education.

Another feature that distinguishes the Portuguese migrants from the Portuguese who remained in Portugal is, still, the preference for the vocational branch. Although this option is

[13] EURYBASE is provided by EURYDICE European Unit (a project supported by the European Commission).
[14] In the survey "Mobilité Geographique et Insertion Social", a survey of 13000 individuals done by INED.
[15] We refer here the average percentage as the author reports the women and men percentages separately.
[16] In the 1995 sample and for the 31-35 age group, the individuals who have at least the higher secondary or the CAP-BEP after the 5ème are not quite the majority; they represent 46.7%.

available in Portugal too, the percentage of people who choose it is extremely low (below 1%, between 2% and 3%, and 6.7%, for the 18-23, 24-35 and 36-40 age groups respectively).

This shows that there is a cut with the past by the Portuguese migrants. This cut can be due to the enforcement and higher levels of minimum education and not to a free decision taken by the migrants. However, either freely or in a compulsory way, the Portuguese migrants are becoming less Portuguese regarding their options relatively to education.

Using a multinomial logit to explain the different levels of education attended - Others&Elementary, Lower secondary, CAP-BEP after 5ème, CAP-BEP after 3ème, Upper secondary, and BAC+2&University degree - we were able to confirm this process of assimilation.

The regressors used were age (AGD), and dummies that take value one if: age cohort 15-30 (CAG029); the individuals were younger than 10 years old when they entered France (CAGI010); migration date is post-1974 (CDI75); the father is a qualified worker (PQUAL) as a proxy for the social background; the person got the French nationality (NAT1) and female (SEXO) - see appendix C for detailed results.

As expected, age has a positive sign for the first level of education – which includes the individuals with no formal education and with elementary school – and negative for all the others. That is, younger individuals have a higher probability of having more than elementary school. In particular, being less than 30 years old rises the probability of having attended the lower or upper secondary or even university. The same happens if an individual entered France when he or she was younger than 10 years old, only in this case the probability of having a CAP-BEP also rises (at least in the 1994 sample). The reverse happens for those who entered France after 1974, that is, these individuals have a smaller probability of having followed the vocational branch.

This is a very interesting insight that led us to the conclusion that the children of the first Portuguese migrants, that is, those who took part of the first migration wave to France in the early sixties, were the ones who preferred the shorter cycles the most. The children of the migrants who arrived afterwards - that entered France only after 1974 in the context of family reunion - began to prefer an academic education to the vocational branch.

Holding the French nationality also diminishes the probability of having only elementary school or not having any formal education. In others words, a Portuguese migrant who got the French nationality has a higher probability of, at least, having attended secondary school. In fact he has a higher probability of having gone to university.

A qualified worker's child has a higher probability of having a CAP-BEP certificate and a lower probability of having only elementary school and, in some regressions, also has a higher probability of having attended upper secondary school.

A female has a higher probability than a male of having only elementary school or having no formal education (or having attended lower secondary school, for the 1994 sample), whereas a

male has a higher probability of having a CAP-BEP after 5ème (or a CAP-BEP after 3ème,again for the 1994 sample).

Family decisions

It was pointed already that the Portuguese migration to France was a family migration. That determines the age structure as well as the males proportion in the populations.

Another feature of the family migration is the high percentage of married people: 73% and 74% in 1994 and 1995 respectively. These percentages are higher than the one in the 1991 Census for the Portuguese population, which is 61.2%[17]. The inverse happens for the widows' percentage; being about 2% in both samples, is less than a third of the percentage we observe for Portugal in 1991. The percentage of divorced persons in the samples is almost three times the one observed in Portugal in 1991; 3.15% and 3.42% for the 1994 and 1995 samples respectively and 1.2% for Portugal 1991.

The individuals in our samples are more like the Portuguese in terms of deciding to get married but at the same time they also get divorced more easily. In that aspect they are more like the French[18].

Only 5% of the individuals in our samples live alone, of which the majority is males.

In our sample we have only information on the number of unmarried children living at home; this is a lower bound indicator of the number of children.

The percentage of individuals who, being part of a couple, have at least one child is 81% in both samples. The number of single-headed families is rather small; 10 fathers and 54 mothers in 1994 and 11 fathers and 64 mothers in 1995.

As can be seen in tables 9 and 10 in appendix A the majority has two or more children. For the age brackets between 31 and 45 more than 60%[19] of the individuals have two or more children. For younger cohorts, namely the 21-25 and 26-30 age brackets, this percentage is about half that value, and there is a higher percentage of individuals with one or no children.[20]

As said above the information concerns only unmarried children living with the parents which turns any extrapolation for the whole population very difficult to make.

Kotlok-Piot (1994) and Cunha (1988) show that the fertility rate has been decreasing rather slowly among the Portuguese population in France. So, nowadays the Portuguese migrants' fertility

[17] And they must be higher than the percentage of married people in France, as the Portuguese crude marriage rate – marriages per 1000 population - in 1994 was higher than the French was, 6.7 versus 4.4 (Eurostat).
[18] In 1993, the Portuguese and the French crude divorce rates – per 1000 population – were 1.2 and 1.9, respectively (Eurostat).
[19] Except for the age bracket 41-45 in the 1995 sample for which the percentage is 58.69.
[20] The percentages for individuals aged 15 to 20 do not seem representative of the age cohort as they have much higher fertility rates than what was to be expected.

rate is closer to the French than to the Portuguese fertility rate as the latter has been declining heavily. In 1994 and 1995 the fertility index[21] in Portugal was 1.4[22] whereas in France was 1.7, in both years[23].

IV. Conclusions

The Portuguese community in France, as it appears in our samples, is a young, genders balanced population, that is getting older as the inflows are much smaller than what they used to be. They arrived mainly in the 1965-1974 period, although the majority of them seem not to remember the exact date of their arrival.

As a result of the concentration of the inflows in a ten-year period, individuals who were 40 or younger at the time of the surveys (1994-1995) arrived in a educational/formation age; individuals who are older than that migrated as workers. This fact, in conjunction with the low levels of formal schooling in the homeland, explains the different pattern of schooling of the two groups. An older generation with almost no schooling and a younger generation with much higher schooling – still low in French terms (comparison base: the French) but high in Portuguese terms (comparison base: the Portuguese living in Portugal).

Not only the level of schooling has increased, but also the type of schooling chosen has changed. In a first stage shorter cycles of vocational education were chosen, in a second stage longer cycles of vocational education and in the third and present stage a increased preference for academic or technological education as the French do. In this sense, there is a process of assimilation by the younger Portuguese and their families.

The low levels of naturalisations and their evolution with age (an inverse U shaped graph) are not very conclusive. If we divide the sample in two age groups, as above, we see that in the younger sub-group the naturalisations increase with age, what can be considered another sign of assimilation among the younger population.

The residence decisions do not show any significant evolution with age. The Portuguese are concentrated in the Ile de France region, but can be found in almost all other areas.

The data we have concerning family decisions shows a married population with high but decreasing fertility. As fertility has been decreasing both in France and in Portugal it is hard to infer about to what model there is a convergence to, if any.

[21] Average number of children that a woman has in her fertile lifetime period.
[22] INE, "Portugal Social, 1991/95"
[23] Source:INSEE, in Lévy (1998).

There are signs of assimilation by the Portuguese living in France, meaning a convergence of decisional patterns. The next step is to use the same datasets to see if there are signs of discrimination against the Portuguese in the labour market.

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Appendix A

Table 1: **Age by age at migration, 1994**

	age at migration								
age	**0-4**	**5-10**	**11-16**	**17-20**	**21-30**	**31-40**	**41-50**	**+50**	Total
15-20	41	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	45
%row	*91.11*	*0.00*	*8.89*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*28.28*	*0.00*	*5.71*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
21-25	47	7	4	14	6	0	0	0	78
%row	*60.26*	*8.97*	*5.13*	*17.95*	*7.69*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*32.41*	*11.48*	*5.71*	*13.21*	*2.62*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
26-30	40	21	8	7	18	0	0	0	94
%row	*42.55*	*22.34*	*8.51*	*7.45*	*19.15*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*27.59*	*34.43*	*11.43*	*6.60*	*7.86*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
31-35	15	24	9	17	15	4	0	0	84
%row	*17.86*	*28.57*	*10.71*	*20.24*	*17.86*	*4.76*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*10.34*	*39.34*	*12.86*	*16.04*	*6.55*	*4.17*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
36-40	2	7	32	16	21	12	0	0	90
%row	*2.22*	*7.78*	*35.56*	*17.78*	*23.33*	*13.33*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*1.38*	*11.48*	*45.71*	*15.09*	*9.17*	*12.50*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
41-45	0	2	10	37	25	4	0	0	78
%row	*0.00*	*2.56*	*12.82*	*47.44*	*32.05*	*5.13*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*0.00*	*3.28*	*14.29*	*34.91*	*10.92*	*4.17*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
46-50	0	0	3	10	66	2	2	0	83
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*3.61*	*12.05*	*79.52*	*2.41*	*2.41*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.29*	*9.43*	*28.82*	*2.08*	*18.18*	*0.00*	
51-60	0	0	0	5	74	40	1	0	120
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.17*	*61.67*	*33.33*	*0.83*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.72*	*32.31*	*41.67*	*9.09*	*0.00*	
+60	0	0	0	0	4	34	8	5	51
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*7.84*	*66.67*	*15.69*	*9.80*	*100.00*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*1.75*	*35.42*	*72.73*	*100.00*	
Total	145	61	70	106	229	96	11	5	723
%total	*20.06*	*8.44*	*9.68*	*14.66*	*31.67*	*13.28*	*1.52*	*0.69*	

Table 2: **Age by age at migration, 1995**

	age at migration								
age	**0-4**	**5-10**	**11-16**	**17-20**	**21-30**	**31-40**	**41-50**	**+50**	Total
15-20	29	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	35
%row	*82.86*	*5.71*	*5.71*	*5.71*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*25.89*	*2.25*	*2.82*	*2.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
21-25	30	4	7	10	10	0	0	0	61
%row	*49.18*	*6.56*	*11.48*	*16.39*	*16.39*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*26.79*	*4.49*	*9.86*	*10.00*	*4.31*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
26-30	39	22	5	12	30	0	0	0	108
%row	*36.11*	*20.37*	*4.63*	*11.11*	*27.78*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*34.82*	*24.72*	*7.04*	*12.00*	*12.93*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
31-35	11	44	15	9	25	6	0	0	110
%row	*10.00*	*40.00*	*13.64*	*8.18*	*22.73*	*5.45*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*9.82*	*49.44*	*21.13*	*9.00*	*10.78*	*9.09*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
36-40	2	14	22	16	10	6	0	0	70
%row	*2.86*	*20.00*	*31.43*	*22.86*	*14.29*	*8.57*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*1.79*	*15.73*	*30.99*	*16.00*	*4.31*	*9.09*	*0.00*	*0.00*	
41-45	0	2	14	29	24	2	2	0	73
%row	*0.00*	*2.74*	*19.18*	*39.73*	*32.88*	*2.74*	*2.74*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*0.00*	*2.25*	*19.72*	*29.00*	*10.34*	*3.03*	*12.50*	*0.00*	
46-50	0	1	4	15	51	0	3	0	74
%row	*0.00*	*1.35*	*5.41*	*20.27*	*68.92*	*0.00*	*4.05*	*0.00*	*100.00*
%column	*0.00*	*1.12*	*5.63*	*15.00*	*21.98*	*0.00*	*18.75*	*0.00*	
51-60	0	0	1	7	76	29	2	1	116
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.86*	*6.03*	*65.52*	*25.00*	*1.72*	*0.86*	*100.00*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*1.41*	*7.00*	*32.76*	*43.94*	*12.50*	*11.11*	
+60	1	0	1	0	6	23	9	8	48
%row	*2.08*	*0.00*	*2.08*	*0.00*	*12.50*	*47.92*	*18.75*	*16.67*	*100.00*
%column	*0.89*	*0.00*	*1.41*	*0.00*	*2.59*	*34.85*	*56.25*	*88.89*	
Total	112	89	71	100	232	66	16	9	695
%total	*16.12*	*12.81*	*10.22*	*14.39*	*33.38*	*9.50*	*2.30*	*1.29*	

Table 3: Nationality by age

	1994			1995		
	Naturalized		Total	**Naturalized**		Total
age	**French**	**Portuguese**	(whole sample)	**French**	**Portuguese**	(whole sample)
15-20	**0**	**149**	**155**	**0**	**113**	**116**
%row	*0.00*	*96.13*		*0.00*	*97.41*	
%column	*0.00*	*9.07*		*0.00*	*7.24*	
21-25	**9**	**149**	**165**	**4**	**119**	**128**
%row	*5.45*	*90.30*		*3.13*	*92.97*	
%column	*3.77*	*9.07*		*1.54*	*7.62*	
26-30	**29**	**184**	**230**	**25**	**210**	**254**
%row	*12.61*	*80.00*		*9.84*	*82.68*	
%column	*12.13*	*11.20*		*9.62*	*13.45*	
31-35	**39**	**168**	**240**	**32**	**194**	**251**
%row	*16.25*	*70.00*		*12.75*	*77.29*	
%column	*16.32*	*10.23*		*12.31*	*12.43*	
36-40	**40**	**192**	**252**	**47**	**166**	**237**
%row	*15.87*	*76.19*		*19.83*	*70.04*	
%column	*16.74*	*11.69*		*18.08*	*10.63*	
41-45	**36**	**198**	**259**	**50**	**168**	**242**
%row	*13.90*	*76.45*		*20.66*	*69.42*	
%column	*15.06*	*12.05*		*19.23*	*10.76*	
46-50	**36**	**226**	**281**	**45**	**197**	**256**
%row	*12.81*	*80.43*		*17.58*	*76.95*	
%column	*15.06*	*13.76*		*17.31*	*12.62*	
51-60	**26**	**264**	**308**	**29**	**280**	**326**
%row	*8.44*	*85.71*		*8.90*	*85.89*	
%column	*10.88*	*16.07*		*11.15*	*17.94*	
+60	**24**	**113**	**143**	**28**	**114**	**148**
%row	*16.78*	*79.02*		*18.92*	*77.03*	
%column	*10.04*	*6.88*		*10.77*	*7.30*	
Column's total	239	1643	**2033**	260	1561	**1958**
%row	*11.76*	*80.82*		*13.28*	*79.72*	

Table 4: Naturalisations by age bracket

	1994				1995			
	Males	% [1]	Females	% [2]	Males	% [1]	Females	% [2]
15-20	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0%	0	0%
21-25	3	3.19%	6	8.45%	2	2.94%	2	3.33%
26-30	12	9.60%	17	16.19%	9	6.98%	16	12.80%
31-35	16	13.11%	23	19.49%	7	5.47%	25	20.33%
36-40	21	16.80%	19	14.96%	24	19.83%	23	19.83%
41-45	21	16.94%	15	11.11%	32	25.40%	18	15.52%
46-50	21	13.38%	15	12.10%	25	18.94%	20	16.13%
51-60	9	5.36%	17	12.14%	12	6.67%	17	11.64%
+60	15	20.27%	9	13.04%	17	23.94%	11	14.29%
Sum	118	11.03%	121	12.56%	128	12.65%	132	13.95%

[1] % of correspondent males'total age bracket

[2] % of correspondent females'total age bracket

Table 5: **Residency region by age group, 1994**

	Regions									
age	Ile-de-France	Rhône-Alpes	Centre	Auvergne	Picardie	Bourgogne	Aquitaine	anche-Comp	Others	Total
15 - 20	62	10	5	10	13	5	6	9	35	155
%row	*40.00*	*6.45*	*3.23*	*6.45*	*8.39*	*3.23*	*3.87*	*5.81*	*22.58*	
%column	*7.93*	*5.35*	*4.55*	*9.90*	*13.27*	*5.43*	*7.41*	*11.69*	*6.93*	
21 - 25	58	16	17	2	6	11	8	7	40	165
%row	*35.15*	*9.70*	*10.30*	*1.21*	*3.64*	*6.67*	*4.85*	*4.24*	*24.24*	
%column	*7.42*	*8.56*	*15.45*	*1.98*	*6.12*	*11.96*	*9.88*	*9.09*	*7.92*	
26 - 30	85	19	12	11	12	10	17	8	56	230
%row	*36.96*	*8.26*	*5.22*	*4.78*	*5.22*	*4.35*	*7.39*	*3.48*	*24.35*	
%column	*10.87*	*10.16*	*10.91*	*10.89*	*12.24*	*10.87*	*20.99*	*10.39*	*11.09*	
31 - 35	88	19	15	9	10	6	7	10	76	240
%row	*36.67*	*7.92*	*6.25*	*3.75*	*4.17*	*2.50*	*2.92*	*4.17*	*31.67*	
%column	*11.25*	*10.16*	*13.64*	*8.91*	*10.20*	*6.52*	*8.64*	*12.99*	*15.05*	
36 - 40	115	24	11	11	9	10	17	10	45	252
%row	*45.63*	*9.52*	*4.37*	*4.37*	*3.57*	*3.97*	*6.75*	*3.97*	*17.86*	
%column	*14.71*	*12.83*	*10.00*	*10.89*	*9.18*	*10.87*	*20.99*	*12.99*	*8.91*	
41 - 45	102	22	12	19	10	15	8	8	63	259
%row	*39.38*	*8.49*	*4.63*	*7.34*	*3.86*	*5.79*	*3.09*	*3.09*	*24.32*	
%column	*13.04*	*11.76*	*10.91*	*18.81*	*10.20*	*16.30*	*9.88*	*10.39*	*12.48*	
46 - 50	114	19	15	14	10	16	12	9	72	281
%row	*40.57*	*6.76*	*5.34*	*4.98*	*3.56*	*5.69*	*4.27*	*3.20*	*25.62*	
%column	*14.58*	*10.16*	*13.64*	*13.86*	*10.20*	*17.39*	*14.81*	*11.69*	*14.26*	
51 - 60	120	40	11	13	22	10	6	14	72	308
%row	*38.96*	*12.99*	*3.57*	*4.22*	*7.14*	*3.25*	*1.95*	*4.55*	*23.38*	
%column	*15.35*	*21.39*	*10.00*	*12.87*	*22.45*	*10.87*	*7.41*	*18.18*	*14.26*	
+60	38	18	12	12	6	9	0	2	46	143
%row	*26.57*	*12.59*	*8.39*	*8.39*	*4.20*	*6.29*	*0.00*	*1.40*	*32.17*	
%column	*4.86*	*9.63*	*10.91*	*11.88*	*6.12*	*9.78*	*0.00*	*2.60*	*9.11*	
Total	782	187	110	101	98	92	81	77	505	2033
%total	*38.47*	*9.20*	*5.41*	*4.97*	*4.82*	*4.53*	*3.98*	*3.79*	*24.84*	

Table 6: **Residency region by age group, 1995**

	Regions									
age	Ile-de-France	Rhône-Alpes	Centre	Auvergne	Picardie	Bourgogne	Aquitaine	anche-Comp	Others	Total
15 - 20	44	8	5	4	8	8	4	11	24	116
%row	*37.93*	*6.90*	*4.31*	*3.45*	*6.90*	*6.90*	*3.45*	*9.48*	*20.69*	100.00
%column	*6.06*	*3.98*	*5.38*	*5.13*	*9.30*	*6.67*	*4.60*	*13.10*	*4.97*	
21 - 25	50	11	5	6	4	7	7	11	27	128
%row	*39.06*	*8.59*	*3.91*	*4.69*	*3.13*	*5.47*	*5.47*	*8.59*	*21.09*	100.00
%column	*6.89*	*5.47*	*5.38*	*7.69*	*4.65*	*5.83*	*8.05*	*13.10*	*5.59*	
26 - 30	100	35	11	9	14	11	14	7	53	254
%row	*39.37*	*13.78*	*4.33*	*3.54*	*5.51*	*4.33*	*5.51*	*2.76*	*20.87*	100.00
%column	*13.77*	*17.41*	*11.83*	*11.54*	*16.28*	*9.17*	*16.09*	*8.33*	*10.97*	
31 - 35	92	20	16	8	10	13	12	8	72	251
%row	*36.65*	*7.97*	*6.37*	*3.19*	*3.98*	*5.18*	*4.78*	*3.19*	*28.69*	100.00
%column	*12.67*	*9.95*	*17.20*	*10.26*	*11.63*	*10.83*	*13.79*	*9.52*	*14.91*	
36 - 40	95	23	13	13	7	13	12	7	54	237
%row	*40.08*	*9.70*	*5.49*	*5.49*	*2.95*	*5.49*	*5.06*	*2.95*	*22.78*	100.00
%column	*13.09*	*11.44*	*13.98*	*16.67*	*8.14*	*10.83*	*13.79*	*8.33*	*11.18*	
41 - 45	100	20	7	6	8	20	12	13	56	242
%row	*41.32*	*8.26*	*2.89*	*2.48*	*3.31*	*8.26*	*4.96*	*5.37*	*23.14*	100.00
%column	*13.77*	*9.95*	*7.53*	*7.69*	*9.30*	*16.67*	*13.79*	*15.48*	*11.59*	
46 - 50	95	23	14	13	7	20	12	8	64	256
%row	*37.11*	*8.98*	*5.47*	*5.08*	*2.73*	*7.81*	*4.69*	*3.13*	*25.00*	100.00
%column	*13.09*	*11.44*	*15.05*	*16.67*	*8.14*	*16.67*	*13.79*	*9.52*	*13.25*	
51 - 60	115	37	9	10	25	12	14	17	87	326
%row	*35.28*	*11.35*	*2.76*	*3.07*	*7.67*	*3.68*	*4.29*	*5.21*	*26.69*	100.00
%column	*15.84*	*18.41*	*9.68*	*12.82*	*29.07*	*10.00*	*16.09*	*20.24*	*18.01*	
+60	35	24	13	9	3	16	0	2	46	148
%row	*23.65*	*16.22*	*8.78*	*6.08*	*2.03*	*10.81*	*0.00*	*1.35*	*31.08*	100.00
%column	*4.82*	*11.94*	*13.98*	*11.54*	*3.49*	*13.33*	*0.00*	*2.38*	*9.52*	
Total	726	201	93	78	86	120	87	84	483	1958
%total	*37.08*	*10.27*	*4.75*	*3.98*	*4.39*	*6.13*	*4.44*	*4.29*	*24.67*	100.00

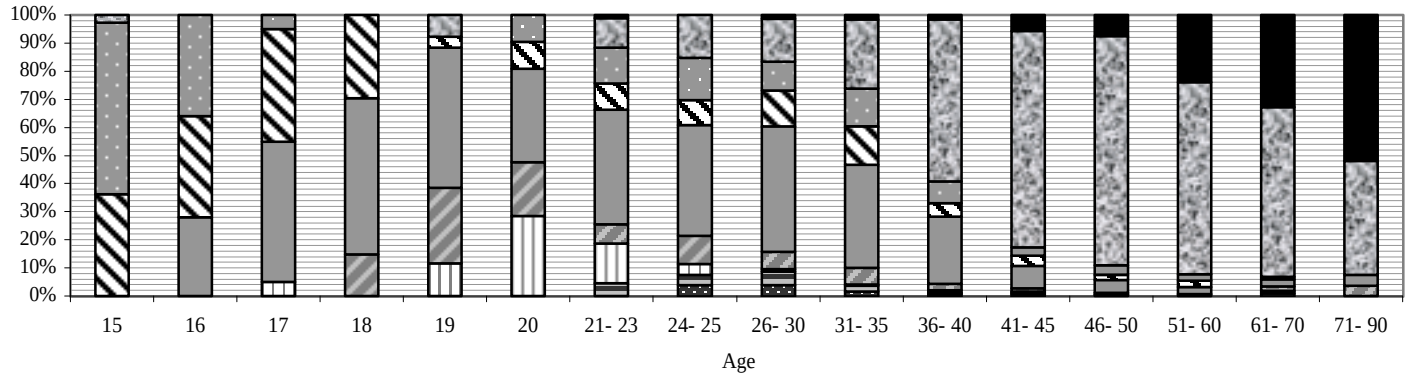
Table **7cational level attained by age, 1994**

nivplan	Age 15	16	17	18	19	20	21- 23	24- 25	26- 30	31- 35	36- 40	41- 45	46- 50	51- 60	61- 70	71- 90	w's total
University degree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	4	2	2	0	0	1	0	21
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*14.29*	*42.86*	*19.05*	*9.52*	*9.52*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.76*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*3.80*	*3.91*	*1.67*	*0.79*	*0.77*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.86*	*0.00*	*1.03*
BAC+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	11	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	25
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*16.00*	*12.00*	*44.00*	*20.00*	*4.00*	*4.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.65*	*3.80*	*4.78*	*2.08*	*0.40*	*0.39*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*1.23*
BAC	0	0	1	0	3	6	12	3	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	33
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*3.03*	*0.00*	*9.09*	*18.18*	*36.36*	*9.09*	*6.06*	*3.03*	*6.06*	*3.03*	*3.03*	*0.00*	*3.03*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*5.00*	*0.00*	*11.54*	*28.57*	*13.95*	*3.80*	*0.87*	*0.42*	*0.79*	*0.39*	*0.36*	*0.00*	*0.86*	*0.00*	*1.62*
Terminale & BAC-PRO	0	0	0	4	7	4	6	8	14	14	6	3	2	2	2	1	73
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*5.48*	*9.59*	*5.48*	*8.22*	*10.96*	*19.18*	*19.18*	*8.22*	*4.11*	*2.74*	*2.74*	*2.74*	*1.37*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*14.81*	*26.92*	*19.05*	*6.98*	*10.13*	*6.09*	*5.83*	*2.38*	*1.16*	*0.71*	*0.65*	*1.72*	*3.70*	*3.59*
Higher secondary & CAP-BEP after 5ème	0	7	10	15	13	7	35	31	103	88	60	21	13	8	3	1	415
%row	*0.00*	*1.69*	*2.41*	*3.61*	*3.13*	*1.69*	*8.43*	*7.47*	*24.82*	*21.20*	*14.46*	*5.06*	*3.13*	*1.93*	*0.72*	*0.24*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*28.00*	*50.00*	*55.56*	*50.00*	*33.33*	*40.70*	*39.24*	*44.78*	*36.67*	*23.81*	*8.11*	*4.63*	*2.60*	*2.59*	*3.70*	*20.41*
Lower secondary	13	9	8	8	1	2	8	7	29	33	12	9	5	7	0	0	151
%row	*8.61*	*5.96*	*5.30*	*5.30*	*0.66*	*1.32*	*5.30*	*4.64*	*19.21*	*21.85*	*7.95*	*5.96*	*3.31*	*4.64*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*36.11*	*36.00*	*40.00*	*29.63*	*3.85*	*9.52*	*9.30*	*8.86*	*12.61*	*13.75*	*4.76*	*3.47*	*1.78*	*2.27*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*7.43*
Cinquième, CPPN, CPA or CEP	22	9	1	0	0	2	11	12	24	32	20	8	10	7	1	0	159
%row	*13.84*	*5.66*	*0.63*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*1.26*	*6.92*	*7.55*	*15.09*	*20.13*	*12.58*	*5.03*	*6.29*	*4.40*	*0.63*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*61.11*	*36.00*	*5.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*9.52*	*12.79*	*15.19*	*10.43*	*13.33*	*7.94*	*3.09*	*3.56*	*2.27*	*0.86*	*0.00*	*7.82*
Elementary	1	0	0	0	2	0	9	12	35	59	145	199	229	210	70	11	982
%row	*0.10*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.20*	*0.00*	*0.92*	*1.22*	*3.56*	*6.01*	*14.77*	*20.26*	*23.32*	*21.38*	*7.13*	*1.12*	*%total*
%column	*2.78*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*7.69*	*0.00*	*10.47*	*15.19*	*15.22*	*24.58*	*57.54*	*76.83*	*81.49*	*68.18*	*60.34*	*40.74*	*48.30*
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	4	4	15	21	74	38	14	174
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.57*	*0.00*	*1.72*	*2.30*	*2.30*	*8.62*	*12.07*	*42.53*	*21.84*	*8.05*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*1.16*	*0.00*	*1.30*	*1.67*	*1.59*	*5.79*	*7.47*	*24.03*	*32.76*	*51.85*	*8.56*
Column's total	36	25	20	27	26	21	86	79	230	240	252	259	281	308	116	27	2033
% total	*1.77*	*1.23*	*0.98*	*1.33*	*1.28*	*1.03*	*4.23*	*3.89*	*11.31*	*11.81*	*12.40*	*12.74*	*13.82*	*15.15*	*5.71*	*1.33*	

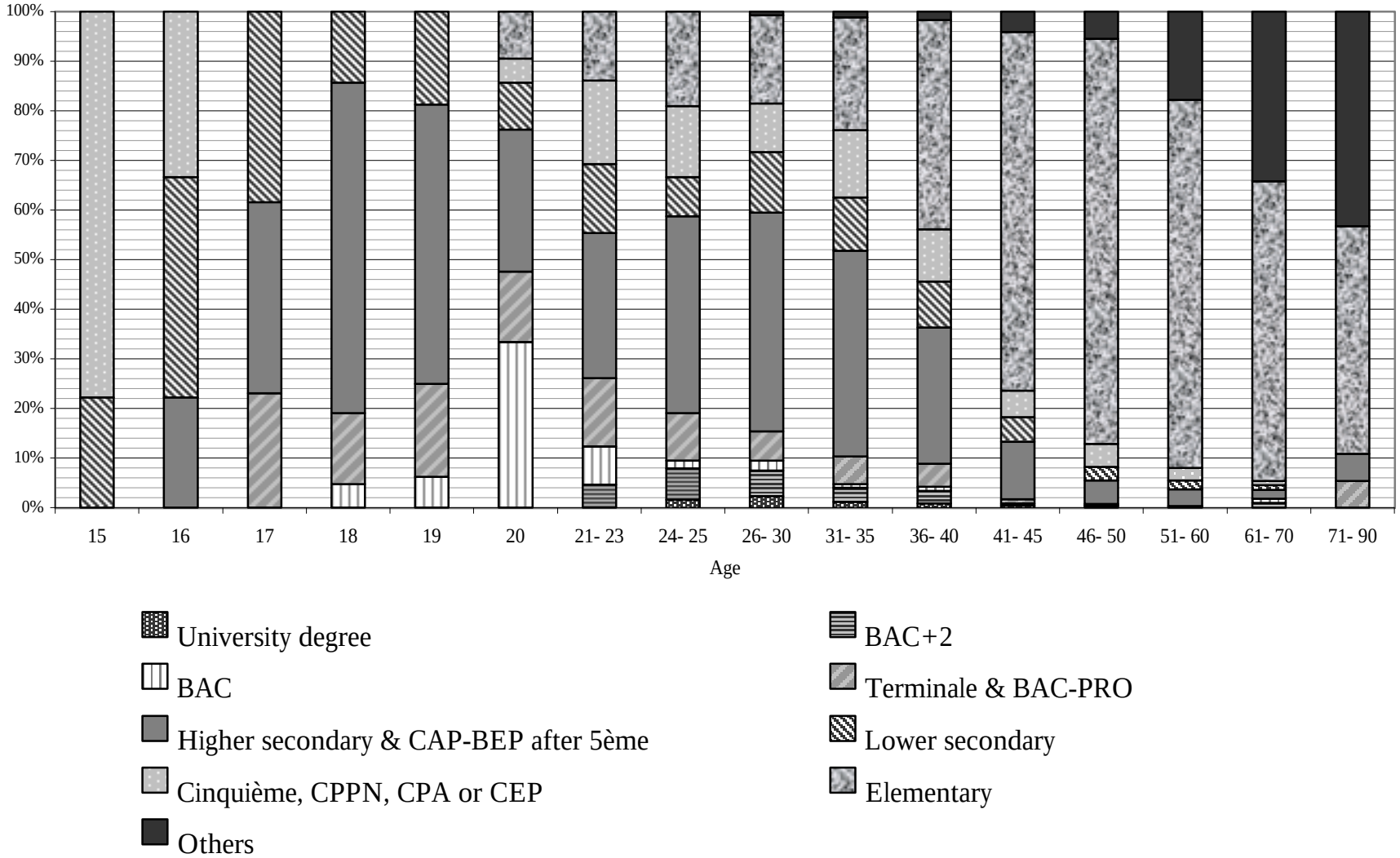
Table 8 **cational level attained by age, 1995**

nivplan	Age 15	16	17	18	19	20	21- 23	24- 25	26- 30	31- 35	36- 40	41- 45	46- 50	51- 60	61- 70	71- 90	w's total
University degree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	13
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*7.69*	*46.15*	*23.08*	*15.38*	*7.69*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*1.59*	*2.36*	*1.20*	*0.84*	*0.41*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.66*
BAC+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	13	7	6	0	0	0	1	0	34
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*8.82*	*11.76*	*38.24*	*20.59*	*17.65*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*2.94*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.62*	*6.35*	*5.12*	*2.79*	*2.53*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.90*	*0.00*	*1.74*
BAC	0	0	0	1	1	7	5	1	5	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	27
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*3.70*	*3.70*	*25.93*	*18.52*	*3.70*	*18.52*	*7.41*	*7.41*	*3.70*	*3.70*	*0.00*	*3.70*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.76*	*6.25*	*33.33*	*7.69*	*1.59*	*1.97*	*0.80*	*0.84*	*0.41*	*0.39*	*0.00*	*0.90*	*0.00*	*1.38*
Terminale & BAC-PRO	0	0	3	3	3	3	9	6	15	14	11	2	1	1	0	2	73
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.11*	*4.11*	*4.11*	*4.11*	*12.33*	*8.22*	*20.55*	*19.18*	*15.07*	*2.74*	*1.37*	*1.37*	*0.00*	*2.74*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*23.08*	*14.29*	*18.75*	*14.29*	*13.85*	*9.52*	*5.91*	*5.58*	*4.64*	*0.83*	*0.39*	*0.31*	*0.00*	*5.41*	*3.73*
Higher secondary & CAP-BEP after 5ème	0	6	5	14	9	6	19	25	112	104	65	28	12	11	2	2	420
%row	*0.00*	*1.43*	*1.19*	*3.33*	*2.14*	*1.43*	*4.52*	*5.95*	*26.67*	*24.76*	*15.48*	*6.67*	*2.86*	*2.62*	*0.48*	*0.48*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*22.22*	*38.46*	*66.67*	*56.25*	*28.57*	*29.23*	*39.68*	*44.09*	*41.43*	*27.43*	*11.57*	*4.69*	*3.37*	*1.80*	*5.41*	*21.45*
Lower secondary	4	12	5	3	3	2	9	5	31	27	22	12	7	6	1	0	149
%row	*2.68*	*8.05*	*3.36*	*2.01*	*2.01*	*1.34*	*6.04*	*3.36*	*20.81*	*18.12*	*14.77*	*8.05*	*4.70*	*4.03*	*0.67*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*22.22*	*44.44*	*38.46*	*14.29*	*18.75*	*9.52*	*13.85*	*7.94*	*12.20*	*10.76*	*9.28*	*4.96*	*2.73*	*1.84*	*0.90*	*0.00*	*7.61*
Cinquième, CPPN, CPA or CEP	14	9	0	0	0	1	11	9	25	34	25	13	12	8	1	0	162
%row	*8.64*	*5.56*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.62*	*6.79*	*5.56*	*15.43*	*20.99*	*15.43*	*8.02*	*7.41*	*4.94*	*0.62*	*0.00*	*%total*
%column	*77.78*	*33.33*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*4.76*	*16.92*	*14.29*	*9.84*	*13.55*	*10.55*	*5.37*	*4.69*	*2.45*	*0.90*	*0.00*	*8.27*
Elementary	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	12	45	57	100	175	209	242	67	17	935
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.21*	*0.96*	*1.28*	*4.81*	*6.10*	*10.70*	*18.72*	*22.35*	*25.88*	*7.17*	*1.82*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*9.52*	*13.85*	*19.05*	*17.72*	*22.71*	*42.19*	*72.31*	*81.64*	*74.23*	*60.36*	*45.95*	*47.75*
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	4	10	14	58	38	16	145
%row	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*1.38*	*2.07*	*2.76*	*6.90*	*9.66*	*40.00*	*26.21*	*11.03*	*%total*
%column	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.79*	*1.20*	*1.69*	*4.13*	*5.47*	*17.79*	*34.23*	*43.24*	*7.41*
Column's total	18	27	13	21	16	21	65	63	254	251	237	242	256	326	111	37	1958
% total	*0.92*	*1.38*	*0.66*	*1.07*	*0.82*	*1.07*	*3.32*	*3.22*	*12.97*	*12.82*	*12.10*	*12.36*	*13.07*	*16.65*	*5.67*	*1.89*	

Graph 1:Educational level attained by age, 1994



Graph 2:Educational level attained by age, 1995



Appendix B

The French educational system is a little bit complex and very different from the Portuguese. In this circumstances we found useful to include in our work a short description of it.

The French educational system suffered a reform in 1989. Since that time, alterations have been introduced. However, as the individuals in our samples are, at least, 15 years old, they were not under this new educational system, even because the reform has been put into practice in a gradual way starting with the first years of schooling. So, we are going to describe the previous system, not the actual one.

The elementary school in France was composed of three different cycles in a total of 5 years (one more than the in Portugal). In general children go to elementary school when they are 6 years old, and finish it when they are 11. Afterwards, they go to the so called "6ème", the first of the four years of the first secondary cycle (lower secondary). This cycle continues with "5ème", "4ème", and finally "3ème". This cycle is compulsory.

The minimum age to leave school is 16 years old. Therefore it could happen that a student has to continue his education beyond "3ème", that is, he or she must go into the second secondary cycle (higher secondary). This cycle consists of three more years: "2nd", "1er" and the final year, "terminale".

If a student wishes to attend university he also needs to take an admission exam. This way he obtains a certificate, which differs accordingly to the branch from which he came. There are then three kinds of certificates: the "Bauccalauréat d'enseignement général" (BAC général), the "Bauccalauréat technologique" (BTn), and "Brevet de Technicien" (BT).

Those students who do not pass this exam but have a grade average of 8 over 20 still get the "Certificat de fin d'études secondaires" or the "Certificat de fin d'études professionelles secondaires".

In the secondary school students can choose between two types of education: academic education or vocational education. This choice is available already at the end of "5ème". At that point students can choose one of the following four options:

- Finishing the lower secondary school at the *collège* (the comprehensive secondary school), which means attending the traditional "4ème" and "3ème".
- Going to the "4ème préparatoire" class at a *lycée professionnel* (vocational *lycée*) to obtain a "Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle" (CAP) in a three years period. With this certificate one could enter the labour market as qualified worker.
- Going to a special class, the "classes préprofessionnelles de niveau" (CPPN), which allows students to learn about some working skills before going to "4ème préparatoire".

- Going to the “classe préparatoire à la apprentissage” (CPA), which allows students a closer contact with a particular job. After this class students usually go to “apprentissage” that consists of working for someone and attending classes in a “Centre de formation d’apprendis” (Apprentice Training Center) at the same time. In two or three years, students get the CAP as in the *lycée professionnel.*

It is also possible to undertake a vocational education in the higher secondary. Instead of going to a traditional *lycée*, and following the so-called *cycle long*, a student can go to a *lycée professionnel*, following a *cycle court.* In two years time a student get the “Brevet d’études professionnelles” (BEP) or the CAP. The CAP certificate could also be obtained in a “Centre de formation d’apprendis”.

The difference between BEP and CAP is that the former entails the formation of qualified workers for a broad group of activities within a given sector – industrial, commercial, administrative or others – whereas the latter is industrial specific.

After the higher secondary school there are again multiple choices. If it is true that BAC is demanded to proceed with studies at the university level, it is also true that a number of specialisations exist for which BAC is not necessary. However, we will not mention them here, nor will we mention higher education, for the number of individuals in the samples with those kinds of educational qualifications is rather small.

Appendix C

Marginal effects on prob(Y=i),
for i=Others & Elementary, Lower secondary school, CAP-BEP after 5ème, CAP-BEP after 3ème, Upper secondary, BAC+2 & Univ.degree

1994

	Others and Elementary	Lower secondary	CAP-BEP after 5ème	CAP-BEP after 3ème	Upper secondary	BAC+2 & Univ. degree
Constant	-1.0839	0.4451	0.3132	0.1305	0.1258	0.6933
Agd	0.0373	-0.0139	-0.01	-0.0051	-0.0052	-0.0034
Sexo	0.0927	n.s	-0.076	-0.0192	n.s	n.s
Constant	-0.9859	0.4302	0.2586	0.1101	0.1165	0.7049
Agd	0.0359	-0.0137	-0.0091	-0.0047	-0.0051	-0.0034
sexo	0.0933	n.s	-0.0731	-0.0197	n.s	n.s
Pqual	-0.138	n.s	0.0748	0.0234	0.017	n.s
Constant	-1.0447	0.4401	0.3038	0.1246	0.1196	0.0566
Agd	0.0368	-0.014	-0.01	-0.005	-0.0051	-0.0028
Sexo	0.1038	n.s	-0.0786	-0.021	n.s	n.s
Nat	-0.2186	n.s	0.1204	0.0354	n.s	0.0304
Constant	-0.9528	0.4246	0.2569	0.1023	0.1113	0.0577
Agd	0.0355	-0.0138	-0.0094	-0.0045	-0.005	-0.0029
Sexo	0.1037	n.s	-0.0778	-0.0208	n.s	n.s
Nat	-0.2204	n.s	0.1216	0.0348	n.s	0.0298
Pqual	-0.1273	n.s	0.069	0.022	0.0146	n.s
Constant	-0.5221	0.4086	0.037	0.0175	0.0237	0.0353
Agd	0.0254	-0.0139	-0.004	-0.0018	-0.0034	-0.0023
Cagi010	-0.5021	0.1501	0.1869	0.0512	0.0904	n.s
Cdi75	n.s	n.s	-0.0774	-0.0239	n.s	n.s
Sexo	0.0988	n.s	-0.0945	-0.0206	n.s	n.s
Pqual	n.s	n.s	0.0933	n.s	n.s	n.s
Constant	-0.4854	0.5446	0.1299	0.0275	-0.1426	-0.0741
Agd	-0.0248	-0.0166	-0.0059	-0.002	n.s	n.s
Cag029	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s	0.889	0.054
Cagi010	-0.4996	0.1387	0.1793	0.0491	0.1013	n.s
Cdi75	n.s	n.s	-0.0809	-0.0251	n.s	n.s
Sexo	0.0989	n.s	-0.0929	-0.0201	n.s	n.s
Pqual	n.s	n.s	0.0879	n.s	n.s	n.s
Constant	0.7224	-0.2658	-0.1576	-0.0806	-0.1393	-0.079
Cag029	-0.2879	0.1168	n.s	n.s	0.0855	0.0523
Cagi010	-0.8057	0.3543	0.2415	0.0865	0.0925	0.0301
Cdi75	-0.1653	0.1939	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s
Sexo	0.0893	n.s	-0.0938	-0.025	n.s	n.s
Pqual	-0.1561	n.s	0.11	n.s	n.s	n.s

Marginal effects on prob(Y=i),
for i=Others & Elementary, Lower secondary school, CAP-BEP after 5ème, CAP-BEP after 3ème, Upper secondary, BAC+2 & Univ.degree

1995

	Others and elementary	Lower secondary	CAP-BEP after 5ème	CAP-BEP after 3ème	Upper secondary	BAC+2 & Univ. degree
Constant [a]						
Agd						
Sexo						
Constant	-0.9279	0.4037	0.2343	0.1184	0.1153	0.0561
Agd	0.0347	-0.0132	-0.0082	-0.0054	-0.0049	-0.0031
Sexo	n.s	0.0324	-0.0745	n.s	n.s	n.s
Pqual	-0.1753	0.0371	0.0759	0.0411	0.0145	n.s
Constant	-1.0785	0.4577	0.2973	0.1452	0.1259	0.0524
Agd	0.0374	-0.0144	-0.0095	-0.0057	-0.0051	-0.0026
Sexo	0.0552	0.0299	-0.0833	n.s	n.s	n.s
Nat	-0.2394	n.s	0.0989	0.0523	0.0254	0.0311
Constant	-0.9518	0.4191	0.2448	0.1146	0.1233	0.0501
Agd	0.0357	-0.0139	-0.0089	-0.0052	-0.0051	-0.0026
Sexo	n.s	0.0382	-0.0786	n.s	n.s	n.s
Nat	-0.2368	n.s	0.1012	0.0505	0.0267	0.0308
Pqual	-0.1584	0.0342	0.0772	0.0332	n.s	n.s
Constant	-0.8608	0.6013	0.2116	0.0612	0.0195	-0.0328
Agd	0.035	-0.0186	-0.0073	-0.0044	-0.0032	n.s
Cagi010	-0.545	n.s	0.2032	0.1008	0.0884	n.s
Cdi75	0.1972	n.s	-0.1242	-0.0422	n.s	0.0521
Sexo	n.s	0.0883	-0.1073	n.s	n.s	n.s
Pqual	n.s	n.s	n.s	0.039	n.s	n.s
Constant	-1.092	0.7428	0.2754	0.0699	0.0434	-0.0395
Agd	0.0402	-0.0217	-0.0088	-0.0047	-0.0037	n.s
Cag029	0.1986	-0.1158	n.s	n.s	n.s	n.s
Cagi010	-0.5371	n.s	0.204	0.1059	0.0844	0.0565
Cdi75	0.1983	n.s	-0.1201	-0.0417	n.s	n.s
Sexo	n.s	0.0799	-0.1019	n.s	n.s	n.s
Pqual	n.s	n.s	n.s	0.0396	n.s	n.s
Constant	0.8133	-0.2833	-0.125	-0.1604	-0.1426	-0.102
Cag029	-0.2364	0.1261	n.s	0.0379	n.s	n.s
Cagi010	-0.9665	0.3318	0.28	0.1601	0.1325	0.0622
Cdi75	-0.2322	0.1684	n.s	n.s	0.0819	n.s
Sexo	n.s	0.1066	-0.117	n.s	n.s	n.s
Pqual	-0.1525	n.s	n.s	0.0524	n.s	n.s

[a] Not enough variation on dependent variable

Note: The marginal effects are computed at the variables' means

	mod.1	mod.2	mod.3	mod.4	mod.5	mod.6	mod.7
Const	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Agd	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Sexo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Pqual		x		x	x	x	x
Nat			x	x			
Cagi010					x	x	x
Cdi75					x	x	x
Cag029						x	x

Percentage of predicted outcomes correct

	1994	1995
mod.1	61.9	——
mod.2	62.8	61.8
mod.3	63.8	59.8
mod.4	64.5	60.4
mod.5	69.5	63.7
mod.6	66.3	63.7
mod.7	67.5	63.4